The Suffragist

5 CENTS

OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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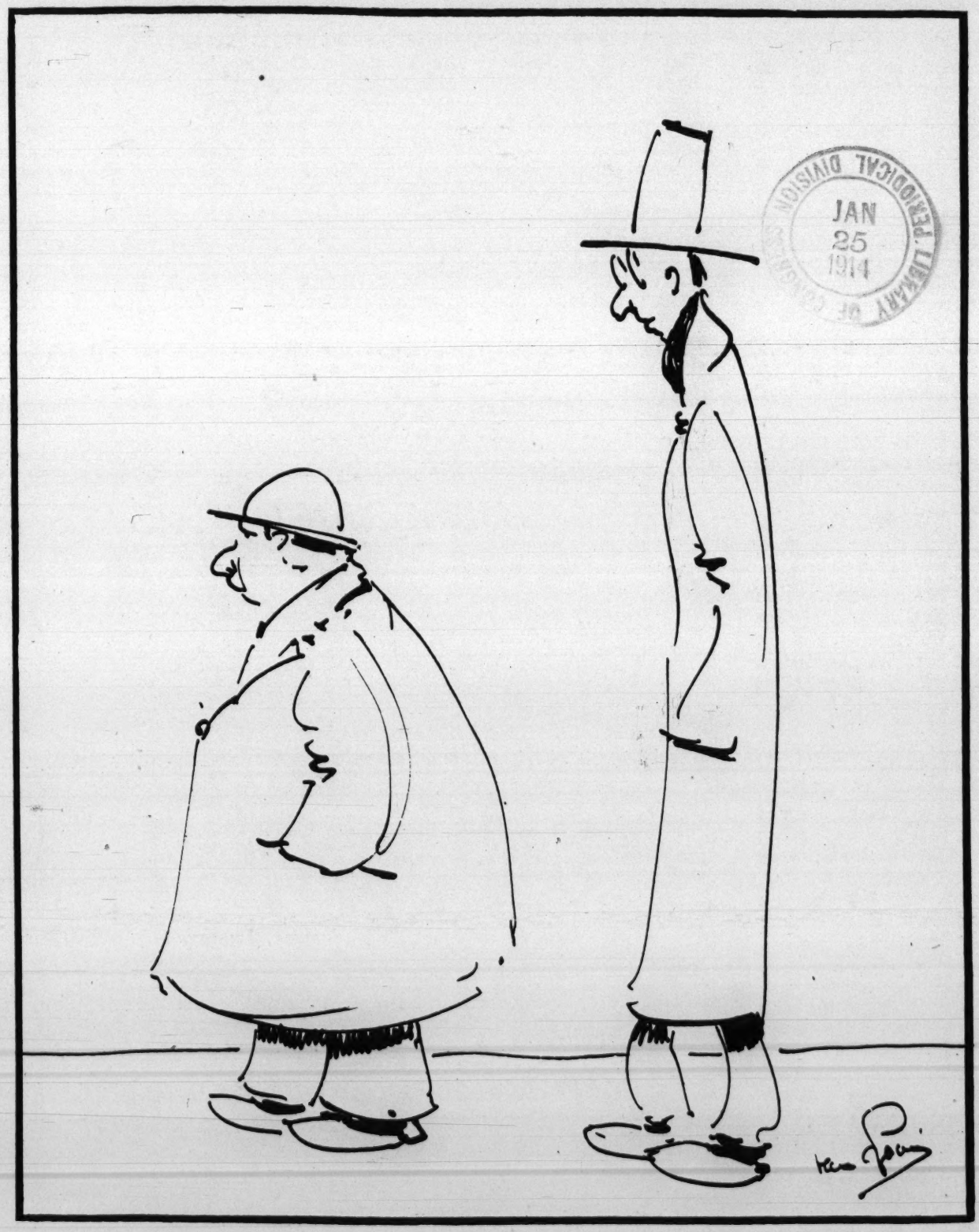

Voting indeed! I ask you, Mr. Jones, if this country goes to war—who will die in its defense?

NOTES OF THE WEEK

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

IN A SPEECH, the keynote of which was "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," President Wilson recommended to Congress on Tuesday last legislation prohibiting the control of large business combinations by individuals or groups of individuals. There was no recognition in the course of the address of the fact that regulation of the business of the country affects the interests of women as intimately as the interests of men. We trust that the President will shortly recognize the truth that all monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, and that he will outline to Congress a speech prohibiting the monopoly of political power in the hands of men. At the present time, President Wilson's most admirable addresses merely remind women that he is acting as their guardian, dictating the management of their interests and for the moment giving them no help in their problem of controlling their own affairs.

SITUATION IN CONGRESS

ON WEDNESDAY, January 21st, Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, requested unanimous consent for an agreement that on Monday, February 2d, the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution, No. 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of Suffrage to women. Mr. Bryan, of Florida objected. Senator Ashurst then gave notice that at the conclusion of the Agricultural Extension Bill, which becomes the unfinished business after the disposition of the Alaska Railroad Bill, he would ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution, No. 1.

The same morning Senate Joint Resolution, No. 1, which is the first business on the Senate Calendar, came before the Senate. Mr. Ashurst delivered a powerful speech in support of the principle of equal Suffrage.

The Democratic members of the Rules Committee in informal session decided by a vote of four to three to make no report on the resolution to create a standing committee on Woman Suffrage in the House of Representatives. Hon. Robert L. Henry, Chairman, Texas; Hon. Martin D. Foster, Illinois, and Hon. Edward W. Pou, North Carolina, voted to report the resolution favorably. Hon. Finis J. Garrett, Tenn.; Hon. Thos. W. Hardwick, Ga.; Hon. James C. Cantrill, Ky., and Hon. Henry M. Goldfogle, N. Y. voted to make no report.

WOMEN WORKERS' DEPUTATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Mary Beard and Mrs. F. H. Cothren of New York, Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, of Baltimore; Miss Elizabeth Fairall, President of the Business Woman's Equal Suffrage League; Miss Bliss Finley; Miss Laura Graddock, President Women Bookbinders' Union, District of Columbia, have been actively engaged in organizing a deputation of working women who will seek an audience with President Wilson on Monday, February 2d. Large delegations are coming from New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

SUFFRAGE PROCESSION IN WASHINGTON

Mrs. William Clagget has undertaken to organize the Actresses' Section of the Suffrage Procession which will be held in Washington early in May. Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest will organize the Homemakers' Section and Dr. Anna Pollock will organize the Socialist Section.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION CAMPAIGN

PROPAGANDA WORK

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE most important event of the week was a mass-meeting held in the hall of the National Rifles Armory, Saturday, January 17th, with Mr. Lincoln Steffins and Mr. George Lansbury, ex-member of the English House of Commons, as speakers. Detailed information concerning this meeting is given elsewhere.

With the exception of one bitterly cold night, neither speakers nor audience were deterred from atttending the open-air meetings of the past week. Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, and Miss Lucy Burns were among the speakers.

One very effective method of advertising the Lansbury meeting was used last week, with the help of an automobile and chauffeur lent for the morning by Mrs. John Jay White. Four members of the Congressional Union, under two purple, white, and gold flags, made a detour of the city, holding, against a wind, which threatened at times to relieve them of their burden, an immense box sign, which successfully called the attention of passers-by to the meeting, or to the inmates of the automobile, it was impossible to determine which.

Miss Lucy Burns and Mrs. St. Clair Thompson spoke at a meeting at the Ingram Memorial Church, on Wednesday, January 14th, at 8 o'clock.

Mrs. John Jay White, of 2408 Massachusetts Avenue, the newly apopointed chairman of Indoor Meetings to be held during the Lenten season in the drawing rooms of prominent members of the Congressional Union, gave the first of the series at her home on the afternoon of January 21st.

Miss Lucy Burns was the principal speaker, and delivered a stirring address on "The Situation in Congress."

DELAWARE

A very interesting meeting was held at the home of Dr. J. M. R. White De Lacour, 706 West Street, Wilmington, Friday afternoon, January 16th. Mrs. Mary Hallock, Greenwalt, of Philadelphia, a well known pianist, was the principal speaker. Miss Mabel Vernon, Chairman of the Delaware branch of the Congressional Union, also spoke, and was kept busy answering questions of declared "antis" among the audience.

Another interesting meeting was held at the home of Mrs. John F. Thomas, 606 King Street, Wilmington, Friday evening, January 23d. Miss Vernon spoke.

At the meeting at the New Century Club, Wednesday afternoon, January 21st, Mrs. W. F. Hillis, the newly appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee for Delaware, spoke of the work to be done in the State.

MARYLAND

A very interesting mass-meeting was held before the Maryland House of Delegates in Annapolis, under the auspices of the Just Government League of Maryland, of which Mrs. Donald Hooker, also a member of the Congressional Union Committee, is the president. Representative Keating, of Colorado, and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, all of Washington, spoke.

Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, spoke at a meeting under the auspices of the Just Government League of Hyattsville and Riverdale, on Friday evening, at the Armory of Company F, on the Kenyon Red Light Bill in the District.

Miss Janet Richards addressed a meeting at the Chevy Chase Library, Wednesday, January 28th, at 8 o'clock.

PROGRAM OF THE WEEK

Saturday, January 24th.

Washington, D. C., Ninth and E Streets, Northwest—Open-Air Meeting.....8 P. M.
Speakers: Mrs. M. E. Brooke and Mrs. St. Clair Thompson.

Monday, January 26th.

Washington, D. C., Tenth and Pennsylvania Avenue—Open-Air Meeting.....8 P. M.
Speaker, Miss Doris Stevens.

Tuesday, January 27th.

Washington, D. C., Ninth and E Streets, Northwest—Open-Air Meeting.....8 P. M.
Speakers: Miss Salsbury and Mrs. Katharine Woods.

Wednesday, January 28th.

Washington, D. C., Apartment 402 Florence Court, West, California Street.....8 P. M.
Speakers: Mrs. Nina Allender and Mrs. Mary Kealty Clagget.

Thursday, January 29th.

Lewes, Delaware, Before the Ponoma Grange, and the Teachers' Institute, of Sussex County, Delaware.....
Speaker, Miss Mabel Vernon.

Friday, January 30th.

Wilmington, Delaware, Residence of Mrs. Mary F. Hearn, 907 West Street—Drawing Room Meeting.....
Speaker, Mrs. Marie Orenstein, a Factory Inspector of New York.

TREASURER'S REPORT

LENTEN SACRIFICE FOR NEVADA

THE admission next November of the four campaign States of Nevada, Montana, and the two Dakotas into the sisterhood of free States, is fraught with so much political significance that the Congressional Union is sending out an appeal to its loyal supporters over the country to assist in raising a special fund for the purpose of sending at once one organizer to the State of Nevada. The capture of these States practically assures the passage of a Federal Amendment. Already the political leverage is very great. The addition of four more States means eight more senators and ten representatives, who would naturally work for a universal franchise in the United States.

The campaign in Nevada is already being bitterly opposed by the interests allied with the underworld. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that the State of Nevada will carry for equal Suffrage. Many loyal Suffragists are resting in the thought that because Nevada is surrounded by Equal Suffrage States it will, therefore, be a simple campaign.

Miss Anne Martin, President of the Nevada Association, needs the support of as many able workers as it is possible to send in to that very strategic point. For the moment, therefore, the Congressional Union will concentrate its efforts to raise this fund for the organizer for Nevada. Begin now to make your Lenten sacrifice.

MARY MORRIS LOCKWOOD,
Treasurer.

Contributions toward $25,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS JANUARY 13TH-JANUARY 19th.

Miss May V. Wolf	$17 00
Helen F. Shedd	25 00
Martha S. Kimball	25 00
Jean Bosler Chamberlain	5 00
Helen Munroe	25 00
Miss Hazel Mackaye	1 00
Louise Marie Lawton	1 00
Mrs. Towles	1 00
Charlotte H. Noland	1 00
Mary L. Hiss	5 00
Mrs. M. H. Humphrey	10 00
Woman Suffrage Association of Dayton and Montgomery Counties, Ohio	10 00
Mrs. M. M. Lockwood (Collected)	5 00
Mrs. Gilson Gardner	10 00
Miss Annie M. Cocks	5 00
Miss Carrie B. Norman	1 00
Miss Julia C. Lathrop	25 00
Mrs. Robert P. Finley	2 00
Miss Charlotte Johnston	5 00
Collection, Lansbury Meeting	29 50
Julia S. Hurlbut	25 00
Mrs. Dora Lewis	35 00
Membership Fees	14 75
Total	$283 25
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$11,747 48
Total to the 19th of January, 1914	$12,030 73

NOTE:—Through error, the donation of Laura A. Platt was printed as $5.90 in the issue of January 17th. It should have been $5.00. The totals were not affected by this error.

Extracts from Senator Ashurst's Speech, Delivered Before the Senate January 21st

OBSERVANT persons will not fail to notice that marked changes in the political and social affairs in the United States are now slowly taking place. Conditions under which we have been living are changing, for society and Government are dynamic, not static, in character.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Only a few years since some of the most profound citizens of this Republic believed that by reason of the complicated procedure and large majorities required it was difficult, if not impossible, to amend the Constitution of the United States, and some eminent statesmen even urged that strained constructions should be placed upon the Constitution so as to change somewhat the structure of our political system, bring it into conformity with the dynamic conditions of the day, and thus secure needful reforms.

But, contrary to the opinion which a few years since prevailed among many thinking people, within the past ten months two amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been proclaimed, and they were adopted under the procedure which is indisputably complicated and involved. The adoption of these amendments, in addition to the valuable reforms they will bring about, has convinced the American people that our Federal Constitution is a living, breathing, dynamic force that protects persons as well as property, and that it is not a procrustean bed of fixity, incapable of amendment or change.

When we hear a "reactionary" stating how fearful he is of the tumultuousness of the masses and their inordinate and impateint "demand for hasty legislation," we should ask that reactionary how many years the people waited in vain for a parcel post, although everybody in the United States wanted a parcel post save and except the express companies. Consider how faithfully—and generally with what good nature—a large number of our fellow citizens toil in unsafe places or with unsafe machinery. Let us hear no more of our constitutions, institutions, and laws being overthrown by the hasty judgments of the "masses and the mobs." No people except the pateint American people would have so long and so uncomplainingly suffered these abuses, looking the while with the eye of faith and optimism into a future which inevitably would correct these evils in the fullness of time. The American people seem to believe that "the foresight that waits is the same genius that creates."

There is no doubt that the invention and adoption of improved means of transportation, the ready communication among the people afforded by the telephone, the telegraph, and the post-office; the facilities for obtaining in-

(Continued on Page 6.)

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

General Headquarters: 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.
Colors: Purple, White, and Gold

THE Congressional Union is a society formed with one purpose, that of securing an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising the women of the whole country. We believe that the Suffrage movement has now reached the stage where it is no longer necessary to gain the vote by the slow method of winning one State after another. As a result of the enfranchisement of nearly four million women of the West, Suffrage has suddenly been transferred from State politics to national politics. There is now more than one-fifth of the United States Senate, more than one-seventh of the House, and more than one-sixth of the electoral vote coming from Suffrage States. With this strength in the national political field, Suffrage work has passed from the stage where it was principally educational to the stage where it is principally political. The problem of Suffragists today is simply the tactical one of utilizing the votes of women of the West in such a way as to win votes for all women. It is no longer necessary to spend our energy mainly in converting people to a belief in Suffrage. There is Suffrage sentiment enough in the country today. The only trouble is that the great mass of Suffrage sentiment and Suffrage strength is largely ineffective because it is dissipated; because it is not concentrated on any one political body.

The task of Suffragists now is to focus the immense Suffrage sentiment already existing and the Suffrage strength represented by the women voters, upon Congress. We must make effective the Suffrage sentiment in every little hamlet of the country by making it an integral part of one big body of Suffrage interest all centered upon Congress.

If we divide into thirty-eight campaigns in the attempt to amend thirty-eight State constitutions, our victory is far away. If we unite in one campaign for the national amendment, though continuing the State work at the same time, the long years of struggle will soon be at an end.

We ask all women to join us in their effort to get the Suffrage Amendment through Congress during the present session.

Membership is open to all women who consider Suffrage the main issue in national politics. There is an entrance fee of 25 cents, but no further dues.

If you are willing to help us, fill out the following membership blank and send it, with the 25 cents entrance fee, to the Congressional Union, 1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

DATE.....
NAME.....
FULL ADDRESS.....
.....
Telephone Number.....
Occupation.....

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Official weekly newspaper of the

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NUMBER ONE Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HOUSE SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

BY THE action of four men the cause of Woman Suffrage is refused a hearing in the House of Representatives. This is an illustration of the remarkable outworking of machine control in that body. A majority of the Democratic majority of the Rules Committee has voted unfavorably on a resolution to create a committee to consider the subject of Woman Suffrage. The majority of the majority consists of four Democrats, namely, Thomas W. Hardwick, of Georgia, Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, James C. Cantrill, of Kentucky, Henry M. Goldfogle of New York. The other Democrats on this committee are Robert L. Henry, of Texas, Chairman, Edward W. Pou of North Carolina and Martin D. Foster, of Illinois. These men voted in favor of the Suffrage committee. In addition to these Democrats, the committee includes Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas; Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin, and Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., of New York, Republicans, and M. Clyde Kelley, of Pennsylvania, Progressive.

The point of interest in this situation is seen in the fact that the actual number of votes in this committee in favor of the Suffrage resolution exceeds the number of votes against it. Among those who have announced themselves as approving the creation of such a committee are Campbell, Lenroot, Kelley, Foster, Pou, and Henry. Merritt has been ill and took no part. Thus the committee stands six to four in favor of the resolution, yet four Democrats block the proposal.

There is neither logic nor political wisdom in this action of the Rules Committee Democrats. To refuse the opportunity for ordinary legislative discussion to a subject of such widespread interest and such pressing political import is nothing short of folly. It is to be hoped and expected that this decision will be overturned by vote of the Democratic caucus.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE policy of the Congressional Union is to ask for a Woman Suffrage Constitutional Amendment from the party in power in Congress and to hold them responsible for their answer to this request.

This policy is entirely non-partisan in that it handles all parties with perfect impartiality. If the Republicans were in power we would regard them, in their capacity as head of the Government, as responsible for the enfranchisement of women. If the progressives or socialists should become the majority party and control the machinery of Congress, we would claim from them the right to govern ourselves and would hold them responsible for a refusal of this just demand.

Today the Democrats are in power. They control the Executive offices, the Senate, and the House. They can, if they will, enfranchise women in the present session; their refusal to do so establishes a record which must necessarily be taken into consideration by women when the party seeks the re-endorsement of the people at the polls.

This policy simply recognizes the facts of our American System of Government. Ours is a Government by parties. The majority party by secret caucus, by the control of committees, by the power of patronage, by their appeal to party responsibility, by the necessity of party solidarity, controls the legislation of the House. The present Government recognizes this method of administration with especial and indeed admirable frankness. It owes much of its popularity today to its willingness to assume full responsibility for all the legislation enacted in Congress; for whatever is done and what is not done. The two great measures of the last session, tariff and currency, were passed rapidly and successfully through both houses by the frank use of party discipline.

In comparison to the power of the party, the individual member of Congress is weak indeed. A member who attaches himself to no party is unable to carry any legislation into effect. Where the party organization opposes a measure, it is very difficult to enact it into law, even where there are a majority of votes in favor of it.

Let us by all means deal directly with the people who can give us what we want. The Democrats have it in their power today to enfranchise women. If they bar our way it is the party organization and not the individual member of Congress whom it is necessary to attack.

This is not only our most logical method of work, but it is also the most economical and expeditious. Assuming that the Democrats yield nothing in the present session, we can, after Congress closes, concentrate our forces on those points where the party is weakest and thus become a force worth bargaining with At the present moment the Senate is the weakest point in the Democratic armory. To defeat even a few Democratic Senators in November, 1914, would make a serious breach in the party organization. It is not impracticable or not over-optimistic to imagine that if we concentrate our national forces on ten or a dozen Senatorial constituencies where the Democratic majority is slight, we could defeat the Democratic candidate. If that were once done it would never need to be done again.

If, on the other hand, we started forth to attack every anti-Suffragist in Congress, we should have hundreds to defeat and every man would be safe in whose constituency we did not organize. Imagine that at the end of arduous labor we had contrived to defeat a number of Democratic anti-Suffragists and an equal number of Republican anti-Suffragists, we should by immense sacrifice have completely nullified our own efforts and left the relative strength of parties just where it was before. The individuals whose seats were imperiled might regard us with respect; but for the heads of the parties who hold in their hands the machinery of Government, we should be politically negligible.

What should we do too in our enfranchised States if we confined ourselves to the plan of supporting individual Suffragists and attacking individual anti-Suffragists irrespective of their party affiliations? All the candidates for office in the enfranchised States are Suffragists. Is it suggested that we be inactive in the only places where we possess real political power? Our problem at the present moment is to use the strength of women's votes in national elections so as to force attention to the justice of our claim from the present administration.

Therefore, we must get the great parties now in power to go on record for or against Suffrage and to go as a party with that record to the people. We must teach the women all over the country to hold them to the duty of enfranchising women before undertaking any other reforms.

There is in all this no undue urgency and impatience. It is the highest mission of any party to free the people. It is the first duty of all women to free their sex; to end forever the established theory of the inferiority of women to men, with all the social evils that theory drags in its train. It would be ignominious of us to put any political reform before the question of our own freedom. Since that aim is our first and highest, what is more natural than that we should call upon the greatest power in national policies, the majority party, for this act of fundamental justice; that we should watch its answers to our responses; that we should judge it by its attitude to our demand; and that we should seek to displace it if it fails this greatest present need of our country?

But the Congressional Union can not make it too clear that we are not opposed to any party today. We are asking the Democrats to help us; we are awaiting their answer. We will frame no policy for or against them or any other party until this session closes and the great opportunity of the present administration has come to an end. We entertain steady and undiminished hopes that the administration will recognize the justice and expediency of women's claim to self-government. The movement is making immense strides in every part of the country; our present voting strength is great and will undoubtedly be increased in the present year. It takes no great imaginative reach for the ordinary Congressman to foresee the day when Woman Suffrage will be an established fact throughout these United States. There is already a strong sentiment in the Upper House for Woman Suffrage and a rapidly growing interest in it in the Lower House. We have no reason to expect willful obstinacy from our American Congressmen. We Americans are adaptable and imaginative and can shape ourselves with peculiar ease to coming events. The Democratic party, if it is wise, will pass our Amendment through Congress in the present session.

Labor Leaders on Votes for Women

AN ENGLISHMAN who has the courage of his convictions is George Lansbury, who resigned his seat in Parliament because he could not longer endure the situation in England in regard to the Woman Suffrage Bill, frankly stating that his sympathy was entirely with the militant Suffragists in England.

Immediately after his resignation he joined them in their propaganda work and was arrested with Sylvia Pankhurst, receiving the same sentence. Both went on a hunger strike, and both were released, but Mr. Lansbury was not rearrested as in the case of Sylvia Pankhurst, who has been repeatedly arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act in order to fill out her time, until her health is completely shattered.

No one could listen to Mr. Lansbury's impassioned words without feeling the thrill that filled him on the floor of the House of Commons when he condemned Mr. Asquith to his face, saying: "You men ought to be driven from public life. You do not know what your principles are. These women are showing you what principles mean. I say that the Prime Minister and the way he is going on is beneath contempt."

Speaking at the labor mass-meeting held under the auspices of the Union on January 17th, at the National Rifles Armory, Mr. Lansbury said in part:

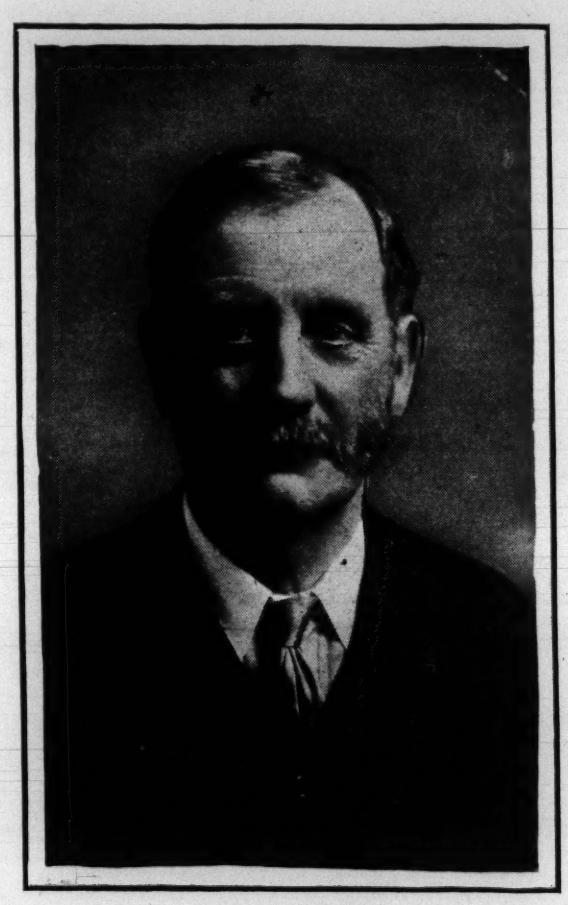
"One of the sons of one of the wealthiest of the old families, Winston Churchill, describes England as the paradise of the rich and the hell of the poor, and I think that it is hell for the working class of women, especially in the industrial districts. One of the reasons why I have taken all the interest I have in Woman Suffrage is, I suppose, because I am the son of my mother (applause), and next because I am the husband of my wife and the father of my girls, but certainly because of the horrible conditions which exist in my country. No where I think in the world is poverty so marked as in Great Britain. We hear of poverty in Japan, poverty in China, and in India, but there the people for centuries have grown into that condition and there are not the means to overcome that condition. In our country, it is simply and solely because of man's inhumanity to man, and because of the fact that we do not recognize and won't recognize the problem as one of distribution.

. . . . . .

"Over in Philadelphia a short time ago when Mrs. Fels took my wife and myself around Independence Hall, we saw the great Liberty Bell with the inscription that read "Freedom for the people all over the world." I do not think you have got enough freedom in this country (applause). I do not mean political freedom only, but the point is this, that if your country, if our country, and any of the civilized countries of the world are ever to become free, I am quite sure that the mothers must first of all be free (applause).

"In England, we are all being told that our people have much less initiative than they ever had. I rather feel as I run up against Americans that the theory that you are all so very alert, so quick witted, is only a theory too, but whether it is true here or not I am patriotic enough to acknowledge whatever of evil there exists in our country, and the reason is twofold; one is the great machining that is going on. The next thing is that the girls are being taken from their homes at the very earliest possible age, and put to work in the mills and factories, and when they come to be wives and mothers they have not got the notion of life that our mothers had.

"I know women in East London, one woman who gets 16 shillings ($4.00) given her at the end of the week, and she has to keep her husband, herself, and two, three, and four children on it. What sort of morality can there be left in that woman at the end of a few years. My wife and I have seen a woman come fresh from the country in our street. We have seen her as the babies come get paler and paler, and everyone knows that the mother gets the last serve in almost every working class. I have heard rich,



GEORGE LANSBURY

well-to-do women talk about the dirtiness of their homes. I would like any rich woman to change places with them and see what sort of homes they would keep.

"You may, if you please, think that womanhood is not capable of fighting out what is called the great problems of life. There is only one problem of life, that is how to live. This mass of women in the poor industrial districts have no sort of chance to live, and when you think of the vote in relation to them you must also remember that these women are the sex inferiors of men.

"I want to say a word about militancy.

"I know that you are a very law abiding people. Well no one is responsible for anything I am going to say. You must not blame the woman's organization if you disagree with me. I do not believe anybody ever gets anything without kicking very hard for it (applause). I agree with Lincoln Steffins that it is much better to follow the golden rule than any other rule. Women have been treacherously dealt with in England by the Government, both in prison and out of prison, that they have had no sort of a chance to do anything. Do you imagine that a woman who many of you have seen like Mrs. Pankhurst (prolonged applause), Mrs. Lawrence, and many others really enjoy going on hunger strikes? I can tell you it is not an enjoyable kind of pleasure. If I never had sympathy for the poor before I had it when I went on my hunger strike. I was put in prison because I refused to bind myself not to express my opinions so freely.

"They sent me to prison for three months, but I came out after three days. They let me out on a license, which says that you are to report yourself to the Government at the end of seven days. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested for the same offense. We were sentenced under an act of Parliament 600 years old. Sylvia was sent to prison for three months too; she came out in four days, but instead of letting her go free they have been rearresting and rearresting her. A Government that differs between man and woman that way is too cowardly for words. The only reason they let me out was because I was a man and happened to be associated with a lot of men who got votes.

"To sum up everything I have tried to say to you I believe that the woman's movement is by far the great progressive movement of our time. I less and less believe in the machinery of Government. I more and more believe that social salvation can only come when men and women, each one of them, are doing their duty to the commonwealth as a matter of right. I believe less in law now than I ever did. The only thing that matters now is whether there is enough strength of spirit left in the common people to work out their own salvation. If there isn't, salvation will never come. The poor have got to save themselves."

Mr. Lincoln Steffins, the well-known magazine writer, was also heard. He said:

"I am unable to distinguish the Woman Suffrage movement and cause from the general cause of Democracy (applause). I have a few experiences, but no reasons which make me feel particularly interested in the woman's movement. When I was investigating Denver, Colo., three or four years ago in order to find out about the things that were going on in Colorado I was referred to women who were in the political game or in the legislatures, and who knew things, and I noticed with some surprise that the men who referred me to these women referred to them exactly as they would to men. I found the women knew exactly all I wanted to know, and if I doubted anything they were patient and willing to give me reasons for it. They met me man to man. They showed no disposition to want to be nicely treated. They did not ask me to extend them courtesies. They were on the level, and it was fine to meet them so, and as fine to them to meet men so.

"Now, if you look over the world you see everywhere a rising of man, an uplifting as some people call it. Men do not know all they want. That is characteristic of all the reform movements. When men go out to get clean streets, and orderly this and orderly that, it is not what they want. Women are feeling that same disposition to go on. To gain power for themselves. The Suffrage movement is only an essential part of the feminist movement. Anti-Suffragists are not a part of the Suffrage Movement, but they are an essential part of the feminist, because they are feeling the need of the movement.

"I wish you would make your fight for Woman Suffrage not on the ground that you are going to improve Government or improve anything else except yourselves (applause). Do not try to show that you are better than men or the equals of men; just be yourselves because you want to get it (applause).

"All you are working for in your Suffrage movement now is a vote. That is nothing but a voice, so that that Government will give you no longer any special consideration. They won't have to show courtesies nor chivalry. You will just be on the level with them. You are working only for a voice in the governing of your selves,your cities and your States. Learn to have some understanding for these poor devils who do not even want the Suffrage in the District of Columbia. Watch labor. It is so important to all of us. The trouble with labor is not what the working men say. They are asking for higher wages and shorter hours. What they really need and what they have really got to get in industry is what you are trying to get in politics—a voice."

Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Massachusetts, presided at the meeting. Mrs. Evans was on the first minimum wage commission in her State which secured the law. She is now sitting on a wage board, which is in the process of deciding what shall be the minimum wage in the brush-making trade. There are fifteen members on the board; six manufacturers, six representatives of employees and three representatives of the public. Mrs. Evans is sitting as a representative of the public. The question under discussion is the cost of living for operatives and the ability of the industry to meet the living necessity of the employees. It has been shown in this industry that 90 per cent of the women are now paid less than a living wage.

Early in the afternoon of the day of the mass-meeting the formal announcement came from the Rules Committee that the Democratic members in caucus had voted to turn down the resolution calling for the creation of a standing committee on Woman Suffrage in the House of Representatives. Miss Lucy Burns spoke on the situation in a dramatic and forceful manner, and at the close of the meeting introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted amid the most intense enthusiasm:

"*Resolved* that this meeting of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage regards with indignation the action of the Democratic members of the Rules Committee in voting to bury in Committee the resolution to create in the House a committee to consider the justice and expedience of extending self-governing institutions to women."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.

In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.

In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favorable report.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.

September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Present Status:

In the Senate: Awaiting action.

In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

Democratic Women and the Suffrage Movement

HOW THEY COULD HELP

THE Democratic women have in their hands today a unique opportunity of helping in the struggle for woman's enfranchisement.

The Democratic party is in control of the National Government and can, therefore, determine whether the Suffrage measure is pushed in this Congress or not. The Democratic women are an important element in their party and can influence its policy. In ten States they have all the power with their party that belongs to voters. In other States, they receive consideration because of their usefulness in raising funds and contributing to the general well-being of the party. In non-Suffrage States, the Democrats would undoubtedly feel the loss of the support now given by Democratic women. But such a loss in the Suffrage States they would regard as a calamity for the defection of the Democratic women voters of the West would imperil the future of the Democrats in national politics. Commensurate with the usefulness of the Democratic women to their party, is their ability to induce that party to take such action as they desire.

If the Democratic women would unite at this moment in demanding that their party push the Suffrage measure in Congress and if they would refuse all further adherence to the party until such action was taken, the Democrats would probably soon see the wisdom of including Suffrage in their program. Some Democratic women are already taking this stand. One prominent woman in a Suffrage State, a woman who has always been a Democrat and whose husband is a Democratic member of Congress, refused last week to ally herself in any way with the Democratic Women's Federation, which has just concluded its convention, stating that she would have no connection with the organization until it give its endorsement to the Suffrage question. Not only is she refusing her aid to the Democratic Woman's Federation but also to the Democratic party itself until it takes up the Suffrage cause.

This is a lead which it is to be hoped will be followed by many other Democratic women. If the Democratic women would unite on such a policy it is safe to predict that the Democratic party would be roused to action. May the Democratic women realize the great opportunity which is open to them. May they be willing to put the enfranchisement of all women before adherence to their own party.

In the last issue of THE SUFFRAGIST, it was stated that Mrs. Lawrence Lewis was the founder of the Equal Franchise Society of Philadelphia. This was an error, since it was Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson who founded the society, with Mrs. Lewis as its first treasurer.

Extracts from Senator Ashurst's Speech

(Continued from Page 3.)

formation and intelligence afforded by the schools, the newspapers, and the magazines have been powerful factors in the removal of many delusions, much ignorance, injustice, prejudice, and superstition that has hindered and hampered civilization in its efforts to make human life broader, more useful and beautiful; but in value, power, and utility, over, above, and beyond all these inventions and accomplishments of civilization which have rendered human existence more comfortable, stands political liberty.

Political liberty invests the citizen with an appreciation of his or her duties and responsibilities. Political liberty is not a means to an end, but is itself the end. Political liberty is valuable to a citizen, because it secures to the citizen safety of person, secures the power to assist in selecting public officials, secures the opportunity to rebuke by ballot the extravagance of public officials. It makes the individual citizen part and parcel of the sovereign; that is to say, the ruling power. It makes the individual citizen the peer—the equal—of every other individual citizen. It stimulates and excites the individual to aspire to excellence for himself and the Government.

History is largely an account of man's struggle for freedom, and from the beginning of the human race down to the present time its tendency has been toward liberty—mankind reaching out for freedom and immeasurably attaining it.

American civil liberty is the fruitage of many centuries of earnest and patriotic endeavor. The preservation of civil liberty will always depend upon the vigilance and zeal of those who love freedom, and if a people do not love liberty well enough to contend for it, if a people prefer turgid quietude to the boisterousness of liberty, they may be sure that the usurpers of power will sooner or later impose tyrannies and despotism upon them.

AMERICAN CITIZENS.

The rights attaching to an American citizen may be divided into two classes—that is to say, civil rights and political rights. On the ground of public policy minors, incompetents, and others are freqeuntly denied political rights. The right of Suffrage—that is, elective franchise or the right to vote—is a political right which, upon grounds of sound public policy and due regard for the genius of our form of government, should never be withheld from a class of citizens fairly and in good faith proved to be worthy of possessing such right.

Kenyon Red Light Bill

MRS. DONALD HOOKER SPEAKS

A hearing on the Kenyon Red Light Bill was held before the House Committee of the District of Columbia, at 10 a. m., January 21st, at the House of Representatives.

Speakers

Dr. Howard Kelley, Dr. Wm. Crafts, Dr. E. O. Janney, Mr. Eugene Levering, of Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. Nina Allender, President of the District of Columbia State Association for Woman Suffrage; Mrs. Donald Hooker, President of the Just Government League of Maryland.

MRS. LAWRENCE LEWIS, JR. MRS. DONALD HOOKER

Taken on the steps of Mrs. Wm. Kent's home as they arrived for the meeting on the 11th

Mrs. Donald Hooker as an Auctioneer

IN FORMALLY accepting the Chairmanship of Finance for the Congressional Union on January 11th, it will be recalled that Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, of Baltimore, said that she was not a raiser of money. Her actions belied her words, for at the moment when Miss Alice Paul lacked only $1 to complete the fund of $8,000, and was casting her eye over the eager faces of the women before her to see who was to be the privileged person to pledge this last dollar, Mrs. Hooker jumped like a flash into the arena and said: "Ladies, I am going to auction off this chance. What am I bid for the privilege to pledge this last dollar." Whereupon the bidding began in earnest, climbing from $3 to $5, and in less than five minutes to $65, when the bidding was closed by the skilled auctioneer, and the bid went to Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia. This was, perhaps, the biggest bit of humor in an afternoon filled with rejoicing. Mrs. Lewis proved the most obstinate bidder, and it was for this reason, no doubt, that when the mark of $65 was reached, Mrs. Hooker closed the bidding and permitted this determined enthusiast to carry off the honor. It will be recalled, however, that the pledged did not end at the $8,000 mark, for immediately after this jolly episode, Mrs. Kent reopened the bidding with a pledge of $200, to make it $9,000, and the pledging went merrily on.

That the women of the South are stirring to the lure of the ballot, was plain to be seen at this meeting. Southern women came bravely to the front, pledging themselves in rapid succession. Miss Emily Perry of Charleston, S. C., one of the organizers of the Congressional Union, was a heavy pledger, as was also Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke and Mrs. St. Clair Thompson of North Carolina; Miss Sarah Grogan of Atlanta, Ga; Miss Lily Glenn of Dadesville, Alabama; Mrs. George Chase of Arkansas; Mrs. Estelle W. Ions, and many others.

Mass-Meeting for Eight-Hour Bill

WHILE the Congressional Union has set itself to the task of working primarily for a Federal Amendment, it is cognizant of the deep relation of all social endeavor to the Suffrage movement.

The Union had a box-party at the splendid mass-meeting for the La Follette-Peters bill, given under the auspices of the Consumers' League on Sunday, January 18th, at the Columbia Theater, and, as usual, there was displayed across their box the "to be" famous amendment banner.

Miss Constance Leupp presided at the meeting with grace and dignity. Mrs. Florence Kelly of New York, President of the National Consumers' League, made the central speech. At the conclusion of the meeting, resolutions demanding the passage of the special bill for which the meeting was called, and another urging the passage of the so-called Kenyon Red-Light bill, were adopted amid loud applause.

"Nineteen Thirteen has been a wonderful year for Woman Suffrage. The progress which the movement has made during this period can not yet be measured, for the most remarkable advance has been in the number of Suffrage workers, their enthusiasm and determination to win, and to win soon. The tangible results of the year's work may be briefly summarized. First of all there is the Illinois victory. Up to the very moment that the Illinois Legislature passed the Partial Suffrage Bill, giving women the vote on all offices and questions not provided for in the State Constitution, few people outside of a small circle in Illinois itself knew there was even a chance that votes for women would cross the Mississippi. But, as time goes on, the importance of this "farthest East" enfranchisement grows in the minds—not only of the Suffragists, but also in its effect on politics and politicians."

HOW THE VOTE WAS WON

An Afternoon of Mirth

THE plans for the Suffrage benefit on the 20th of February at the Columbia Theater are now complete. It is to be a matinee performance, because it is impossible to secure any theater in the evening. The cast for the play includes many of Washington's most prominent social leaders; among them, Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest, Mrs. Mary Kealty Claggett, Miss Jean Walsh, Miss Eunice Oberly, Mrs. Carol Bird, Mr. Morven Thompson, and Mrs. L. W. Jordon, wife of Captain Jordon at the Washington Barracks.

Mrs. Forrest will have charge of the production of the play. Mrs. Clagget plays the lead, that of the young, clinging wife.

Canvass of House Complete.

The Congressional Union has completed the canvass of the House and finds a rapidly growing sentiment in favor of Woman Suffrage.

The group of able women who accomplished this important undertaking have performed their task so quietly that no one was aware. The canvass of the Senate was completed months ago.

The Mother Follows

By SARAH N. CLEGHORN

She follows the children out to play,
And calls and clutches when they stray
The hideous, nameless house too near
Or in the bright saloon would peer.
When will the foolish creature learn
That these are none of her concern?
"Go home and take care of your children."

She follows the young things to the mill,
And rashly seeks to guard them still
From fenceless cogs that whirl and thrust,
And fill the air with lint and dust.
The pay is small, the hours are long,
The fire-escapes are none too strong,
Meddlesome woman! Home again!
This is the business of the men.
"Go home and take care of your children."

At last she follows the children home,
Up to the dark and airless room,
By noisome hall and lampless stair;
But these are none of her affair;
Nor should she seek to help or kill
Amendments to the Tenement Bill.
Yet now she wears upon her breast
A button with the bold request:
"Let me take care of my children."

—The Masses.

New York Evening Post Bringing Out a Special Suffrage Edition

That sturdy champion of votes for women, the New York Evening Post will bring out a special Suffrage edition about the middle of January, with eight pages devoted to Suffrage news and arguments. All Suffragists should lend their hearty co-operation to make this Suffrage issue a success.

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Congressional Union Announcements

A VALUABLE SUGGESTION

THE Literature Department of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage will undertake to furnish, in any quantities desired, reports of speeches made in Congress, and reports of hearings before committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, appertaining to the subject of Woman Suffrage, and the proposed Federal Amendment extending the franchise to women.

These reports contain the arguments made before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage by Mrs. Robert La Follette, Senator John Shafroth, of Colorado; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw, Senator John D. Works, of California; Senator Poindexter, of Washington, and many others; they also contain the pseudo arguments of the opposition.

This literature can be furnished in such a manner as to allow the purchaser to use the franking privilege in mailing, thus saving the cost of postage. If ordered in sufficient quantities, it can be franked to the purchaser in mail-bag lots, saving the entire cost of transportation. This method of transportation entails no obligation except that the addressee return the mail bag (which is United States Government property) to his or her local postmaster, without delay.

Suffrage organizations throughout the country are urged to assist in disseminating this literature, in order that the attitude of Congress toward Woman Suffrage and the proposed Federal Amendment may become generally known to the American public.

Other literature on Suffrage, buttons, post-cards, regalia, and general Suffrage supplies can also be obtained from this department at the lowest possible prices. Further information will be given on request. Let us hear from you with an order. Address: Chairman Literature Department, Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, 1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

To Members of the Congressional Union:

A plan has been suggested by which we may be enabled to increase the interest in and knowledge of the political, economic, and social problems of the day.

A circulating library is being formed at headquarters, 1420 F Street N. W., and your cooperation is needed and urged to make the library a success.

This library has been a long-felt need among Suffragists, and though our aim will be not to confine it to books on the Suffrage and feminist movement, we shall attempt to have the very best books on these questions, as well as others on Sociology, Economics, Political History, and good, modern novels. We realize what a boon this will be to each and every one fond of reading, as it is difficult to secure, at short notice, the books most desired from the Public Library.

A nominal fee of ten cents for the first two weeks will be charged and ten cents for each succeeding week, or two cents a day if desired.

We would appreciate an early reply, stating what books you will be able to contribute to our store.

This library will be the common property of all members of the Congressional Union. However, any one wishing books may get them at the above-stated rates.

Thanking you in advance for your help and cooperation, we are,
Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) GERALDINE L. HITCHCOCK,
Chairman Library Committee.

(Miss) MILDRED KOONCE,
Librarian.

The editors of THE SUFFRAGIST are eager to make the paper all that it should be at this important period of the Suffrage Movement in the United States. They need your co-operation and renewed interest. From now on it will be sold every Saturday on the streets by volunteer workers. Come and pledge yourself to be one of them.

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